WORKERS OF THE WORLD. UNITE

IV

# THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

VOLUME NO. 24 [WHOLE NO. 83] NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1931 PRICE 5 CENTS

## Stop Making a Faction Football Out Of the Mooney Case!

The case of Tom Mooney, which for almost fifteen years, has been kicked around like a football, not only in the legal institutions of capitalism, but in the labor movement, is again threatened with the same fate. The danger to the movement for Mooney's release arises in spite of the clear, unmistakable and thoroughly correct provisions outlined for it in the recent appeal issued from San Quentin penitentiary by the world renowned prisoner No. 31,921. For years, false "friends" of Mooney deceived and frustrated the workers by promises that if they would only remain "respectable" and not "create disturbances" or organize demonstrations, Mooney would be released by the labor fakers in high places who would see this or that capitalist politician in the behalf. Tom Mooney himself put an end to this rubbish and worse when he wrote in his appeal last month: "From the cell where I have been buried alive for fifteen long years I appeal to every working class organization with a spark of militancy or reovlutionary purpose—I appeal for united action . . . Let this appeal be the spark which will start an unparalleled conflagration—agitation that will arouse the masses to demand my unconditional pardon and the release of all class war prisoners." This is the only sound basis upon which a movement can be built.

**The Stalinist Plan**

We have already commented upon and attacked the course taken by the official Communist party and the International Labor Defense which it controls. They are evading the concrete proposals made by Mooney, whispering around in small circles that Mooney would adopt their course if he were not in prison "where he cannot know the situation". Instead of striking out on the right path, the I. L. D. and the Stalinist machine have adopted a narrow, sectarian policy which seeks to limit the Mooney movement within the stifling confines of the Communists, the Communistic organizations and those under its immediate influence and control. Mooney, and we with him, proposed a genuine united front of all the organizations he mentioned in his appeal—Communist, socialist, A. F. of L. unions, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, I. W. W., etc., etc. This is the only way to put the issue in the labor movement and to divide the real friends of Mooney from the false. But the Stalinists are so contemptibly fearful of matching their program and deeds in an open movement with those of other tendencies in the working class, that they prefer sectarian isolation thinly and unsuccessfully veiled under the name of "united front from below" to the broad and genuine united front movement of all groups. That this course means the strangling of the movement when it is hardly born, does not appear to concern these light-hearted and small-minded bureaucrats at all. They are more interested in their self-preservation as a clique imposed upon the movement from above than in the advancement of the genuine and the best interests of the movement itself.

We said last week that the I. L. D. and the Left wing "cannot labor under the illusion that the leadership of the magnificent movement which is about to be started will fall to it automatically. A false, a stupid policy may cause it to forfeit not only leadership in the movement but even prestige and influence. What the Left wing allows to slip through its hands will be picked up by conservative and reactionary groups which will only lead the movement into a ditch of futility as they have done so often in the past" What we forecast only a few days ago has already signal to the Left wing. It must pay attention to it, reflect upon its significance, upon the extent of its own responsibility for it, and upon the measures that must be adopted immediately to deal with it.

**A Novel Committee**

As if in reply to the initial blunder of the I. L. D. and the party (which even the Stalinist shallow-pates might have guessed would meet with a joyful reception in the conservative camp and give it the besought opportunity to act morally indignant), a call has been issued for a conference which is to organize "a massive labor protest in behalf of Tom Mooney". Who has issued the call? Whom do the committee members represent? When and where did they get togthr to form their committee? Who took the intiative and who was responsible for the committee's selection? We learn nothing about these cogent questions in the call. To all intents and purposes it is a self-appointed clique which, somewhere in the dark of the moon, suddenly arrogated to themselves the authority to act for the Mooney movement. Its caliber may be judged from its composition and from some additional facts.

On the committee we find an admixture of snuffling liberals, of outright and notorious reactionaries and racketeers in the labor movement, like Hillman of the Amalgamated, Fania M. Cohen, loyal servitor to every reactionary administration in the I. L. G. W. U.; Socialist party skates like Norman Thomas and Frank Crosswaithe; the inevitable sprinkling of rose-tinted "progressives" like Muste, Lefkowitz, A. J. Kennedy, Burkhardt and other pastors of the C. P. L. A flock; and, trailing hopefully at the heels of the fakers, Connors, of the I. W. W. On this whole committee one cannot find a single Left wing representative, not a single Communist. In fact, we learn from a wailing complaint made against the same people who are allied with him elsewhere in Paterson, for instance), that Gitlow was run out of the clandestine "conference" at which this committee constituted itself because it would have "nothing to do with Communists" at all. A more malicious caricature of the spirit and letter of Mooney's appeal for a united movement can hardly be imagined.

It would be naive to imagine that this "committee"is anything but a united front . . . against the Communists. That the official party policy has facilitated their task, does not change the fact that the anti-Communist crusade interests these people infinitely more than the incarceration of Mooney and the other class war prisoners. (That the field re-

(Continued on Page 4)

## Arne Swabeck Injured in Accident

Comrade Arne Swabeck, national secretary of the Communist League of America (Opposition), was seriously injured last Monday by a fall from a painter's scaffold on which he had been working in Hackensack, N. J. The accident occurred while he was at work at a height of nine feet, and in falling off, his head struck the concrete floor below. He was immediately rushed to the Hackensack Hospital, where emergency treatment was given to him. A number of stitches were made in his scalp, and an X-ray examination made Tuesday to discover if a skull fracture or a concussion had been sustained by him. The medical reports indicate, fortunately, that the injury will not incapacitate comrade Swabeck to any great extent. When he was visited Tuesday morning by comrade Ingrid Swabeck and their son Edgar, together with a few other comrades who had received the news of his accident, he was in good spirits, resting well, and the hospital authorities indicates that he would be in a positon to leave for home in a few days.

The New York branch of the League which met Tuesday evening, upon hearing the story from comrade Shachtman, decided to send a telegram of the warmest greetings and wishes for speedy recovery to our comrade. Arne Swabeck has not only been in the front ranks of the Left Opposition from its inception, but was one of the leaders of the Communist party in this country from its earliest days, and before that, was an active militant in the A. F. of L. and the I. W. W., being one of the leading fighters in the famous Seattle General Strike. Deeply concerned as every one of his comrades and friends will be to hear about the accident, they will be equally overjoyed to learn that he will be back in the ranks in a short time, manifesting that devotion and energetic activity for the cause which have been associated with his name during all his life in the revolutionary movement.

## British Seamen Revolt Against Wage Cuts

For the first time since the famous Nore mutiny of British seamen, some 12,000 sailors of the Atlantic fleet of the largest navy in the world have been drawn into a mutinous action only little less sensational than the uprising of the Chilean navy men a few days ago. From one of the strongest traditional arms of British imperialism, the navy, has unexpectedly come one of the sharpest rebukes to the new "National Government" and a rejection of its reactionary "economy plan".

Right on the eve of the regular Atlantic maneuvers of the British fleet, the sailors not only refused to weigh anchor, but threatened the officers that if the latter raised one anchor, the men would drop the other. The officers of the fleet found themselves helpless before this outspoken and courageous insubordination which was cheered by the thousands of sailors who then launched their strike against the government's wage cut, with cheering and singing. The magnitude and resolution of the sailors' action is breathtaking. So much so, apparently, that the bourgeoisie is at a loss for what to do. What under "normal" conditions would mean the summary execution of the ringleaders, and the punishment of all participants, is today met with the greatest caution. The Times dispatch says that "there has not been the remotest hint of a court martial. Instead, Sir Austen Chamberlain, First Lord of the Admiralty, announced today in the House of Commons: 'His Majesty's Government have authorized the Board of Admiralty to make proposals for alleviating hardships.'" And, it continues with full justification, "as startling as was the incipient mutiny in the British fleet, without precedent in modern times, the action of the government in making terms with those who have broken discipline is regarded as even more startling"

That the first organized sign of revolt against the new reactionary administration of MacDonald, Baldwin and Chamberlain should come from the conservative British navy, is full of good omen and significance for the greater resistance which it is bound to encounter in the immediate future. Just as the Cronstadt sailors were in the front ranks of the Russian revolution, and the seamen of Kiel sounded the death knoll of German Kaiserism, so the action of the British sailors is unmistakably a harbinger of powerful rumblings and clashes in the economic structure of the country, in which the working class of England will be afforded the opportunity of rising to the heights of the General Strike days of 1926, and, under favorable circumstances, even to a higher plane of revolutionary activity.

As our London correspondent writes (see page two), there is a widespread ferment in the working class. Meetings, demonstrations and protests are the order of the day. Many of the manifestations of discontentment are still spontaneous, largely because there is no force capable of organizing them, or willing to do it. The new "Opposition" led by Henderson, who is as reactionary in every respect as MacDonald himself, can be looked to only to put obstacles on the road of labor struggle, or to put themselves at the head of battles if they nevertheless develop, only for the purpose of betraying them. Their measure is given again by the Times dispatch when it writes of the taunts of the Labor back benchers to the partial retreat announced by Chamberlain: "This jubilation was not shared by responsible [!] leaders of the Opposition on the front labor benches. They, in common with members of the government, consider the matter extremely grave. Not only have British seamen refused to obey orders, therby forcing the postponement of maneuvers of the Atlantic Fleet, but they have set an example of disobedience to other services, civil and military."

And the Left wing of the Independent Labor Party, Maxton and his associates, where are they? From the London dispatches thus far available, they continue to grumble a little, to address some meetings, and to do anything else except to organize the workers for a sharp and militant struggle against the new government and against the Hendersons who are tarred with the same stick as MacDonald himself. Unfortunately, whatever movement of resistance has thus far developed, appears to have been captured largely by the Left wing I. L. P. leaders—a guarantee in advance that the movement will be led back to the camp of reaction by these experts in perfidy.

And the Communist Party of Great Britain? It does not appear on the scene to any effective extent. The reports do not even mention its activities. The only indication of its position that we have is the article in the Daily Worker by one of the British Stalinist majordomos, William Rust, an article permeated with that conservatism in a conclusive situa- Communism in the days of the General tion which proved so fatal for British Strike. The slogans it issues ("Not a penny off the dole", etc., etc.), do not differ in any important particular from the slogans of the Left I. L. P. The most urgent need of the moment, the campaign for a united front to resist the brutal encroachments upon the workers planned by the National Government, one of the best ways of revealing the true caliber of the Labor misleaders of all varieties, is allowed to go by the boards. The London Daily Worker, further, takes care, through the party secretariat, to warn against tendencies towads "ultra-Leftism", by which it means the desire of the party ranks for a more militant and decisive program of action than the party leadership has advanced. And there lies the danger to British Communism: that the development of the situation, once more as in 1926, will find it trailing helplessly along.

## I.L.D. Threatens Expulsion

### Hacker Announces that All Oppositionists Will Be Expelled

The bureaucracy foisted upon the International Labor Defense is making preparations to add another heavy blow to those it has already delivered to the organization: all those who are known or believed to be Left Oppositionists in the I. L. D. are to be summarily expelled.

This is the announcement made at the second Scottsboro "united front" conference last week by Carl Hacker, the New York district organizer of the I. L. D., following upon a sharp discussion at the conference which was precipitated by the arbitrary and rude acts committed during the sessions by its Stalinist managers.

Testifying eloquently to the concrete results which the incompetent I. L. D. disorganizers and their policies produce, the conference this time had only some 80 delegates present, in contrast to the 345 delegates in attendance at the first Scottsboro meeting. With the short road to the electric chair in Alabama being cut down every day to bring the nine Negro victims of lynch justice to their legal assassination, the I. L. D. officialdom, entrusted with the organization of a mass movement of protest and defense, have so light-heartedly narrowed down the basis for the movement, so deliberately closed the doors to anybody not definitely under the control of the ruling faction of the Communist party, that the stamp of bankruptcy is being burned more deeply every day into the body of the defense movement which rallied around the Scottsboro boys.

**Opposition's Proposals**

To fail to warn against this dangerous turn in the movement would have been unworthy of a class conscious militant. That is why, following the stereotyped report to the conference by Hacker, which said nothing and found nothing wrong, comrade H. Stone, one of the delegates from the New York branch of the Communist League (Opposition), rose to repeat what we have said so many times before—that we stand ready to give the most loyal and energetic assistance to the defense movement, that we have written in our press and spoken in public meetings for the defendants, and that we are anxious to collaborate in strengthening the defense movement by broadening its basis from the narrow one to which the prevailing policy in the I. L. D. has reduced it. In his concluding remarks, comrade Stone emphasized the need of taking up the appeal by Mooney and organizing a genuinely broad united front movement for his release. Despite interruptions, and attempts by the chairman to cut him off, Stone's remarks were well received, as were those of our other delegate, George Clarke. The latter moved for a united front conference in the letter and spirit of Mooney's letter, and condemned the sectarian anti-Communist policy of the self-appointed "liberal" conference which has recently made its appearance on the scene. But this motion was arbitrarily tabled.

Then, despite the provisions for a discussion, the chairman attempted to exclude a number of non-Stalinist delegates from the floor. H. Capelis, delegate from the Yorkville branch of the I. L. D., and chairman of the recent Amnesty Conference of the I. L. D., was also refused the right to speak. The mildest protest was howled down by organized bands of Stalinist supporters. It was then that Hacker announced that the district bureau of the I. L. D. would hand down "for discussion" its decision to expel all "Trotskyists" from the organization.

To our knowledge, this is the first formally adopted decision to expel workers from the I. L. D. for nothing but their political views. The I. L. D. was founded and had its best period of growth on the basis of defending all workers arrested for their views or activities in the class struggle. Its membership was specifically opened to workers of all or no political or economic views and affiliations. In its ranks, as well as on its leading committees, could be found not only Communists, but socialists, anarchists I. W. W. members, A. F. of L. men, progressives etc., etc. Since the removal

(Continued on Page 2)

## 'COMUNISMO' BARRED FROM CANADA

After having banned the entry into Canada of Leon Trotsky's work, "The Permanent Revolution", the governmental authorities of that country are continuing with their arbitrary campaign of suppression of radical and revolutionary literature, conducted now for some time, and capping it with their latest decree, this time directed against the sending into Canada of **Comunismo**, monthly theoretical organ of our Communist Opposition in Spain. A package of **Comunismo**, addressed to a Canadian comrade, has been held up by the authorities and the comrade has received the following letter, which we reproduce in full:

NATIONAL REVENUE, CANADA
(Customs and Excise Divisions)
Port of Toronto, Sept. 8, 1931.

(Name of our comrade
and address.)

Re: Parcel No. 108424.

Dear Sir:

We wish to advise that the books contained in the above parcel have been refused entry into this country. You may however, return same to the sender by payment of the postage in the amount of fourteen cents.

Failure to do this within ten days from the date thereof a seizure will be made in accordance with the Customs Tariff

'Yours very truly,
J. H. BERTRAM,
Collector of National Revenue.

* * * *

The Canadian bourgeoisie and its agents do not seem to have read—as we once remarked—the announcement in the Stalinist press that opposition literature is "counter revolutionary" . . .

## The Latest Events in Spain

### Turmoil Among the Socialists, Splits Among the Communists

**SOCIAL DEMOCRACY FRENZY**

We have already said in our previous notes that the bourgeois press has begun the attack against the social democratic ministers, principally against Prieto, Largo Caballero, the two "deficient ministers".

The attack of the bourgeois press has produced a great perturbation among the socialists; we do not know if this is why they tell the truth or rather because they have lost the friendship of the bourgeoisie after having lost the confidence of the working class. We already have **El Socialiste**, the central organ of the Spanish social democracy, making Marxian declarations of faith and proclaiming with a great deal of emphasis that they defend the principle and the inescapable necessity of the class struggle. In the same editorial article they declare that the Spanish social democracy is eminently "revolutionary" and they direct an attack filled with rancor against the minister of the interior, M. Maura, and pronounce themselves for the separation of church and state. It is certain that all this is a dead letter for the social democratic organ. It may appear inconceivable that **El Socialiste** attacks the government so openly and that, on the other hand, the socialist ministers continue to remain in power with the approbation of their party. The proof is sure that all this is due to an ill-contained frenzy of the socialists. We see it from the declarations made by M. Largo Caballero a few days after the publication of the notice on which we are commenting. Caballero declared to the journalists that "the strikes are anti-productive because they create economic difficulties and fill with obstacles the proper functioning and the progress of production".

**El Socialiste**, which supports and approves Largo Caballero, now defends for once the need of the class struggle.

Perhaps **El Socialiste** wanted to try to demonstrate to the masses that the Spanish social democracy is "profoundly and essentialy revolutionary", but facts are much more convincing than words and the deeds of Caballero and Co. are far too concrete and refute all that **El Socialiste** can say.

The Spanish working class is already accustomed and knows very well what the declarations of faith of our social democrats signify.

**THE CATALONIAN STATUTE**

We have already said that the Catalonian statute was the proof of the treason of Macia, of the Catalonian separatists, and we have showed that it was only a comedy. Macia has drawn up a far too soft and far too moderate statute. The national government itself has adopted it and presented it as a proposal to the Constituent Cortes.

There will be no discussion; parliament will approve the statute.

Macia has come to Madrid to present the document himself. One part of the press has made a semblance of reproval, another of approbation, rather feeble, by commenting favorably or unfavorably on the statute. This same press has applauded the gesture of the government and has flattered "the noble figure of the illustrious president of the Catalonian Generalidad".

Macia has been feted in numerous bauquets and receptions for having fought for a free Catalonia for which he promised to sacrifice himself. It is certain that the whole state apparatus, the press, and a great number of Spaniards have conducted a campaign of violence against the Catalonians who voted for Macia, and the liberty he promised them.

Today, the Catalonian problem has almost disappeared; nobody speaks of it now. Everybody is preoccupied with the social problem. Catalonia is going to have its statute and a generalidad presided over by Macia. This is what the great confusion over the "difficult Catalonian problem" has been reduced.

(Continued on Page 2)

## NAT L CONFERENCE TO OPEN THURSDAY

The second National Conference of the Communist League of America (Opposition) will open in New York the coming week, its sessions beginning Thursday morning, September 24, and running through to Sunday evening, September 27. The branches of the League throughout the country are already choosing their delegates and it is expected that more than thirty delegates and visitors will attend from out of town, in addition to those present from New York.

The New York branch, which is making all the arrangements for housing the delegates while they are here, has also arranged a "Spaghetti Dinner" as a reception to the delegates. It will take place on Saturday evening, September 26, at 8 P. M., in the Stuyvesant Casino, 9th Street and Second Avenue, to which all New York militants are being invited. Admission to the hall, which includes the dinner, has been set at fifty cents. There will be short speeches by the delegates from all parts of the country, and comrade James P. Cannon will act as toastmaster.

The reports, which are being prepared for the conference, will include one on the political situation and the tasks of the Opposition, on the Communist International and the International Left Opposition, on the situation in the U. S. S. R., on the trade union work, on the organizational work, problems and development of the Communist League, on the work among the Youth, and so forth. The four days' sessions of the conference will be open to all members of the League.

Delegates and visitors to the conference should report immediately upon their arrival to the national office of the League, at 84 East 10th St., New York, so that all arrangements can be made in good shape.

## WE NEED ANOTHER $600.00 FOR THE FUND

Almost three-fourths of the goal set for the Expansion Program Fund of the League has already been achieved by the organization. Little more than six hundred dollars must still be raised in order that we reach the total we placed before ourselves at the outset. In the last week, it appears that the contributions have slackened somewhat because of the funds required for the sending of delegates to the National Conference and other expenditures in connection with it. But this should be considered as an extra effort, aside from the campaign to complete the Expansion Program Fund. We do not want to leave it hanging in the air, unended, particularly because we feel that with only a little more effort, the full amount can be collected.

In turn, we aim to carry out all the provisions of the Program itself. Many of them have already been executed. The **Militant** has been launched again as a weekly paper, and all our efforts must be bent to maintain it and to strengthen it, to increase its circulation, to insure its growth. After the conference, furthermore we hope to be in a position to launch our theoretical organ which has been talked about so much, which many comrades are looking forward to with expectancy, and which is entirely realiazble if we go over the top in the Fund contributions.

The "summer slump" is over, and everybody has the opportunity to buckle down to the work. If our comrades and friends will respond generously to the appeal, our aim can be realized quickly. The slight returns that we have to report this week must be jacked up considerably so that the campaign can be brought to a swift and successful termination.

Since the contributions listed in our last issue, we have received the following sums:

NEW YORK: N. Berman—10.00; M. Sterling—10.00; J. Marsh—1.00; LOS ANGELES: J. Lipschitz—2.00. Total: $23.00.

Total reported previously: $1,369,14.
GRAND TOTAL TO DATE: $1,392.14.

A SPAGHETTI
DINNER

To greet the delegates to our Second National Conference.
Stuyvesant Casino—2nd Ave., and 9th St.
Saturday Evening, September 26 1931
Admission Fifty Cents
New York branch: Communist League of America
(Opposition)

# IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

## Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

### FRANCE

## French Foreign Policy Is Modified

Two important facts, the nomination of Francois-Poncet as ambassador to Berlin, and the resumption of commercial relations and the negotation of a non-aggression pact with the U. S. S. R., mark a notable change in the orientation of French imperialism in its international relationships. These facts have not occurred by accident and revolutionists cannot treat them cavalierly, as **l'Humanite** does. There was a time when, not only serious commentaries on important political events were made by the party press, but when it did not hesitate to explain these questions in workers' meetings. Today, Peri confines himself to relegating everything to a few genral stereotyped phrases which coincide with the 'general line" of the moment.

* * * *

The nomination of Francois-Poncet to Berlin goes beyond the limits of a simple diplomatic change, even considered as a measure against the former ambassador Margerie, for not having been informed about what was being prepared between Austria and Germany towards arriving at an economic agreement, which would inevitably have had important political consequences. Not only was Margerie punished—and Briand also effected indirectly—for the Anschluss affair. It is not for nothing that a career diplomat was replaced by an open servitor of the Comite des Forges (Steel Trust), by the founder of the **Bulletin Quotidien** which, every day, expresses to a narrow circle without circumlocution the points of view of an important fraction of French imperialism which exercizes a considerable pressur e upon the government. After having imposed upon the Ruhr policy, it had to retreat as a result of the defeat suffered, and finally, had to accept against its will the policy of Locarno. Today, this policy is dead; it has had its day. French imperialism is compelled to follow another orientation.

Germany lacks capital. To avoid a catastrophe there, the other imperialists must lend it capital. France, on the contrary, has realized capital. The negotiations that have taken place for some weeks will lead to some temporary solution—which will rapidly raise the contradictions to a higher plane: among them, the loan of French capital to Germany is acquired in principle: what is under debate are the conditions, above all the political conditions, the famous "guarantees" that Germany will have to give. But French imperialism does not intend to rest content with promises. It intends to oversee, to control the employment of its capital. It wants to see where it goes, what purposes it serves. For this job, it needs a competent observer, and that is why it sends Francois-Poncet as ambassador. It needs somebody who knows German industry, German imperialism. And could it choose better than Francois-Poncet, connected with French heavy industry, connected also with German heavy industry (Cachin pointed it out during an election campaign, but in a detestable manner such as could only stir up base chauvinistic sentiments)? The new French ambassador to Berlin will have as his mission to oversee the manner in which German capitalism uses French capital in order the better to exploit the German proletarians. To this strengthening of the bonds between the capitalsts, there should correspond a strengthening of the bonds between the proletarians. But the policy of the "people's revolution" constiutes an obstacle in the road.

* * * *

It is economic necessities also which have led French imperialism to modify considerably its atitude towards the Soviet Union and within such a brief period. Last October, the campaign against the pseudo-"Soviet dumping" was in full swing, the government took measures against Soviet imports, the relations between France and the Soviets were reduced to a strict minimum; today, the measures are withdrawn, and they speak of a "non-aggression" pact. It is minister Rollin who feels the need of explaining himself; it is the **Temps** which puts him through his gait—both of them strongly embarrassed to say that industry needs markets, that Russia is a large market, that all the bourgeois principles do not prevent America or others from doing business with the Soviet Union and there is no reason for France maintaining itself in a position without results. There is a retreat of French imperialism with regards to the U. S. S. R, and every Communist should rejoice at it. But that should not prevent us from seeing clearly, for in the first place it is not a question of a victory obtainod under the pressure of the French proletariat and then we must combat the confusion sown by the socalled non-aggression treaties.

Since the beginning of the crisis, the Opposition has advanced the slogan of the economic collaboration with the Soviets under the control of the working class. It has shown that this was a powerful means of putting in motion the masses, and particularly the unemployed; it took up this slogan with insistence during the anti-dumping campaign. The Stalinists did not take it into account because it was the Opposition which recommended it, and because the U. S. S. R. was building socialism in a single country. This phraseology of the "third period" did not move the masses; and the relations between the Soviet Union depended only upon capitalist necessities, without the workers' pressure having anything to do with it. This is what, in an important measure, today reduces for the Soviet diplomacy, for the proletarian state, the advantages which the difficult position of Frencn capitalism creates for it.

As to the non-aggression pacts, they must be denounced for the same reasons that the Opposition has denounced them since 1926, on every occasion. They bring no advantage to the Soviet Union; they can sow pacifist illusions among the less educated masses, just like the speech by Litvinov on the "peaceful co-existence of the two systems" (capitalist and Sovietist) which spring from the same conception. And then, they put the Communists who want to fight as Communists against the war, that is, to denounce the pacts, in a false position, in contradiction to the position of the U. S. S. R. All the actions of Soviet diplomacy must be defendable by the Communists; when circumstances oblige it to make concessions, it is enough to explain the motives for it. But a Communist would be lacking in his duty if he propagated petty bourgeois illusions in the manner of the socialists.

* * * *

Economic necessities impose upon French imperialism, in need of outlets, held in the circle of imperialist rivalries, important political changes. The development of the crisis throughout the world renders all these "solutions" precarious. The workers should not allow themselves to be deluded by this or that step. The capitalist solutions can only transform their contradictions. To impose their revolutionary solution, the workers can count only on their own strength and forge their essential weapon, the Communist party, which a false policy has greatly blunted.

Paris, September 1, 1931.


## Books
### by Leon Trotsky

**THE STRATEGY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION**
86 pages, two-colored paper cover 25c
Introduction by Max Shachtman

**THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL**
**A Criticism of Fundamentals**
Introduction by J. P. Cannon
140 pages hard paper cover 35c

**THE SPANISH REVOLUTION**
80 pages, paper cover 10c

**THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION**
208 page book—cloth bound 1.00
paper bound .50

**THE REAL SITUATION IN RUSSIA**
Introduction by Max Eastman
364 page book formerly $2 now 1.00

**MY LIFE**—600 pages 5.00

**COMMUNISM AND SYNDICALISM**
**The Trade Union Question**
Introduction by James P. Cannon
64 pages, paper cover 15c

**THE SPANISH REVOLUTION IN DANGER**
64 pages paper cover 15c

**PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE U. S. S. R.**
48 pages, paper cover 15c
Special Rates in Bundles of 5 or more

**SINCE LENIN DIED**
By Max Eastman
1924 50c
158 page book printed in London

Order from
**PIONEER PUBLISHERS**
84 East 10th Street
New York City


### After the Labor Government's Fall

## New Nat'l Government

**LONDON LETTER**

◆ ◆ ◆

Full details of the Labor government's fall and of the formation of the National government will be, by now, in the hands of American militants: probably some points concerning the effect of this change, and of the threatened attack on the workers, upon the English proletariat, will be of interest to readers of the **Militant.**

One thing stands out most clearly—the immediate response of the working people. Not since the General Strike of 1926 ahve audiences been so easy to get and so attentive: socialist and Communist metings are attracting large audiences and unemployed meetings and marches, in some cases spontaneous, are becoming daily occurences in some districts. The English workers have awakened in a manner that reveals very clearly their fundamental soundness in class outlook. Even more ominous is the fact that the long silence over the General Strike is at last broken and the proletariat is discussing the events of 1926 because their relation to today has been strikingly revealed.

**The working class, employed and unemployed, are united against the National government and its economy plans: only over the question of ways and means of meeting the attack are they divided and uncertain.**

**The Labor "Opposition"**

**Right up to the moment of the cabinet's resignation, the chief leaders of the present Labor "Opposition" were prepared to accept "nine-tenths" of the bankers' demands.** The General Council of the Trades Union Congress were also prepared to reduce the workers' wages but by the less open method of tariffs. Now, both groups, wisely silent over their previous attitude, are, together with the Independent Labor Party, grouped together against the whole program of the National government.

The three Labor ministers who have joined the National government—Snowden. MacDonald and Thomas—are undoubtedly the three most able men in the Labor party. Thomas is its most astute tactician; Snowden its financial expert and MacDonald the leading theorist of British gradualism. Their breach with the Labor party has a deeper meaning than merely a "sell-out". It is not a "sell-out" in the commonly understood sense of the word: these men have seen quite clearly that the only alternative to acceptance of the employers' demands is revolution—which, of course, is no alternative to reformists.

Because of this, the "Opposition" of Henderson, of Clynes, of Maxton, of the General Council, will be limited to words and to unreal parliamentary "opposition". since any effective mobilization of the workers will raise revolutionary issues. indeed can only be effective to the extent that it can challenge the whole basis of capitalist rule in Britain. This difference between a revolutionary leadership and a reformist one is not being emphasized here at all, and the Communist party is in danger of becoming either a mere "tail" of the "Left wing" or an isolated group understood by no one.

**The Plight of the Party**

The party has never before been seen to such disadvantage. Days elapsed before any lead was given to the party members or to the workers: locals meeting difficult and delicate questions in the localities were left to drift. Only under pressure from angry rank and filers did the party leadership eventually issue some kind of lead—a confused and uncertain call which left the locals even more muddled than before.

The slogans of the party—"Not a penny off the dole"; "Not one worker off benefit"; etc.—are in essence the slogans of the "Left" and nowhere is it being shown clearly that the party is a revolutionary party, different fundamentally from the I. L. P.

There has been, to date, no clear explanation in the **Daily Worker** of the crisis, no clear statement of how the fight is to be waged and with what end. To the numerous questions raised by the locals, there is no reply.

The workers are, justly as far as they are concerned, beginning to assume that the party and the Labor "Oppositon" are, save for personal differences, working along the same lines. More especially so since the Labor leaders are endeavoring to divert the workers from immediate action by talking of the next General Election and the party urges that "now is the time to build up the party's General Election Fund." By its inability to use the recent events to show the lie of parliamentary democracy, by its cowardice, hesitancy and its stupidity, the party leadership is aiding the labor leaders to hoodwink the working class.

Criticism has already been levelled at these leaders and more will follow. In the events of the next few weeks, the workers may forge new weapons and find new leaders; in any case, they will demand a reckoning from these who have served them falsely.

**American Bankers and the Crisis**

Comments upon the revelations of the party played in the crisis by American bankers, are both amusing and instructive.

The Liberal press, whilst more or less admitting that the bankers demanded certain "guarantees" before agreeing to the loan, are regretting the event—not, however, the fact that the bankers should dictate to Parliament but that the dictation should be made public!

Sections of the Labor movement are playing the imperialist game by denouncing "foreign" bankers' interference with English government, although the part played by the English bankers was precisely the same. In this way, the anti-American feeling is fostered amongst the workers here.

An American Communist, one of the party on their way to the Soviet Union a few weeks ago, was questioned about the attitude of the American workers to England and whether the American labor movement recognized the dangers of war through the development of Anglo-American rivalry.

A look of astonishment came over his face: war, he declared, between the two countries was undreamed of, and his expression showed that as far as he was concerned, he'd never heard of such a thing! Which shows how well the Molotovs and the Stalins have done their work.

**Some Stalinist "Leninism"**

An address delivered early this year by M. Gurevitch (Director of the Supreme Council of National Economy of the U. S. S. R.) to the "Society for Cultural Relations with Russia", has just been published in pamphlet form. Some of the statements in it deserve to be classed with Litvinov's latest utterances.

His concluding words were: "We have so much work to do in our own country and so little help from abroad, that our only desire is to be left alone. Let us work for a few years. All of you here are not Communists. **Nor am I here to convert you. We have only one wish.** Here are two systems, one Communist (!) and the other capitalist. **Let us have a fair struggle,** and let us meet again in a few years time and then judge who has succeeded and who has failed . . . after a few years let us compare results." (Page 15).

M. Gurevitch is certainly a good pupil of Stalin: who would have thought it possible that such pitiful nonsense could be put forward on behalf of workers' Russia. A remarkable tribute to the effectiveness of the struggle against "Trotskyism" in the Comintern!

—ANGLICUS.

London, September 2, 1931

## Threats in I.L.D.

(Continued from Page 1)

of the old leadership of the organization and the successive advents of "new leaders", the whole spirit of the I. L. D. has been subjected to a forced change. Now, it appears, this change in spirit is to be formally incorporated into the statutes of the organization—directed first against the Left Opposition only as a beginning of similar steps against anybody else who presumes to have an opinion differing from that of the official Stalinist machine in the Communist party. Such a disastrous course can only mean progressive decline of the I. L. D., the fall of its influence and prestige, both of which are already badly enough damaged by the Engdahls and Hackers. The letter and the spirit of Hacker's new "decision" is not only a gross violation of the constitution of the I. L. D., but is conceived and executed in the reactionary spirit of the Gompers-Green-Lewis bureaucracy in the A. F. of L. When Hacker declared that "we will put a stop to the boring from within tactics of the Trotskyists", he was simply borrowing, both in phrasing and in tone, from the anti-Communist arsenal of the Black Hundreds in the A. F. of L.

**Protest the Splitting Proposal!**

It would be an evil day for the I. L. D. were such a step to be permitted by the conscientious and responsible workers in its ranks. Let the Hackers point to a single Oppositionist in the I. L. D. who has not taken upon his shoulders more than his share of the work, who has not been in the front ranks of activity, who has not demonstrated a sincere loyalty and devotion to the ideas and work of the organization! It cannot be done.

The Left Opposition requests no privileges in the organization, no special place, no exceptional rights, no "recognition" for doing its simple duty. All it demands, for itself and others, is the right of all I. I. D. members to retain their political or economic views and affiliations without the arbitrary interference of Messrs. Hacker and Engdahl and Foster. All it demands is the right to work actively and loyally in the ranks of the organization. The Stalinist officials, drunk with usurped and abused power, are rabidly afraid even of our membership in the I. L. D. But that should not be decisive for the members. Let them speak out immediately against the "new policy" of factional discrimination and extermination. The Hackers have done enough damage already. Let them go no further in discrediting and wrecking the I. L. D.


## The Real Situation in Russia
### By LEON TROTSKY

364 pages. Sold formerly at $2. Through special arrangements with the publishers can be had from us now at $1

**READ AND SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT**


### GERMANY

## Bruening, France and the Communists

The force of economic events, without consideration for the customs of high diplomacy, which consist of resting in summer from the "work" of winter, has provoked an extraordinary movement in the political relations of Europe and even of the whole world during the recent months.

The lack of independence in the position of German capitalism, which renders its existence even dependent upon foreign credits, makes the bourgeois press and public life particularly sensitive to all these changes.

The central problem is the deportment towards France. The German bourgeoisie still hesitates to submit itself flatly to French hegemony. That this is still possible for it, in spite of the terrific economic crisis, is on the one hand the expression of its internal political power, and on the other, of its hope in some Anglo-American combination. But it must be said that the German government in recent times has been particularly pursued by bad luck. Hardly is the famous Franco-Russian pact announced, which destroys at least the illusion of a serious orientation towards the East on the part of any imperialist country, the French measures of regulation in Hungary are hardly overcome, than the English crisis is anxiously followed by the German press, announcing new storms to which the conservative foreign policy has accustomed us.

The press of the German Communist Party, to the extent that it still exists, does not even deal with this question except by the general and mechanical formula of the "war danger". That is the inevitable consequence of the abandonment of all strategy in the European question which the Comintern summed up in 1923 by the slogan of the "Soviet United States of Europe".

In the interior of the country, the bourgeoisie has utilized the defeat of the referendum in order to attack the C. P. G. in a rabid manner (occupation of the Karl Liebknecht House). It utilizes the elements of the slum proletariat, adventurists and in large part provocateurs, who were able to slip into the party during the "third period" in order to discredit the party as such. The decrees, whose importance we have explained, facilitates this task for it enormously, for they have deprived the party of a good part of its press as well as of the possibility of action by means of meetings and demonstrations. As to the possibility of action in the trade unions, the party has itself deprived itself of this.

Triumphantly, the bourgeois press announces that the trade union congress this year (we will speak of it in greater detail) is the first one since the war **in which not a single Communist delegate will participate.**

What is more important than might appear at first sight, are the new decrees which prohibit the savings banks (official institutions of the communities and by that fact, everywhere favored by the small savers) from according credits to these communities. This not only means the depositing of all available means for private economy, but the inauguration of a grand-scale pillaging of the communities by this private economy, an audacious game which will strongly disquiet the petty bourgeoisie.

Berlin, August 1931.

**READ AND SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT**

### IN SPAIN

## Events of the Week

(Continued from Page 1)

**FOR THE UNIFICATION OF THE C. P.**

The Executive Commitee of the Spanish Communist Opposition has sent, by registered mail with return receipt requested, the letter reproduced below to the Executive Committee of the Spanish Communist Party, to the Catalonian-Balearic Communist Federation and to the Autonomous Grouping of Madrid. It must be added that the leadership of the two organizations have maintained silence on this letter to which they have given no reply.

The rank and file undoubtedly do not know these facts, and will be astonished at the incongruous conduct of their leaders. How will the "Batallists" of Barcelona and the other "ists" of Madrid justify their conduct, they who declare themselves partisans of the unity of the Comlmunist Party of Spain? Here is the text of our letter:

"To the Executive Committee of the Spanish Communist Party to the Catalonian-Balearic Communist Federation, to the Madrid Grouping, to the Spanish Communists in general:

"Comrades. Once more we wish to express our firm intention to fight for the unity of Spanish and international Communism. We will do it as often as it will be necessary to bring it to the attention of the Spanish Communists and of the working class in general, and also to show that the Spanish Communist Opposition, in spite of the calumnies to which it is subjected, knows how to fulfill its duty as vanguard of the world Communist party.

"The convocation of two Communist Congresses in Spain (August 15, by the E. C. of the Spanish C. P., and by the Catalonian-Balearic Communist Federation) took place during the aggravation of the political situation and the accentuation of the revolutionary situation. In these circumstances, the division of the Communists the convocation of two separate congresses would be a counter-revolutionary crime.

**"The Spanish Communist Opposition insists upon the need to unify Spanish Communism by convening a national unification congress which will embrace a representation from all the present existing Communist groups and factions. . . .**

"We, and with us the working class of Spain, will be responsible for disaster which may follow a retreat of the course of the Spanish revolution, by the mistake of those who, out of blindness or bad faith, will stand up against the unification of the Communist forces in Spain. The circumstances and the atmosphere are favorable to the development of our forces: The Spanish Communist Party has possibilities of development if, to begin with, it knows how to achieve its unity.

"We hope that good sense and wisdom will carry the day in our organizations. "Fraternally and always as Communists,

"The Central Committee of the Spanish Opposition."

**IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY**

Events follow each other and the leaders of the C. P. do not give the slightest sign of activity, unless one calls "activity" the publication of a special number of the central organ of the party **Mundo Obrero,** destined for what the bureaucrats call "an examination of the political situation", or to speak of we do not know what mysterious terrorism which, according to the Stalinists, wants to assassinate Bullejos and other no less important leaders of the S. C. P. These gentlemen know how to impress people marvellously by speaking of pretended assassinations against them.

In this period, numerous adventurists are joining the party. The other day we employed the expression "the adventurists are streaming in mass", but we must indicate the significance of the expression. We want to say "great quantity, whole groups of people without political dignity." One group of ex-socialist youth, expelled from the social democratic organization because they pretended to use a radical language, fixed themselves upon the organizations and making a political career, did not succeed in creating a Left socialist organization for themselves; after having found themselves the butt of numerous difficulties, without finding a field of action where they might organize themselves and give satisfaction to their personal ambitions. All these self-styled journalists, learning of the coming transformation of **Mondo Obrero** into a daily, have adhered to the C. P. with the idea in mind, no doubt ,of finding a bureaucratic position and the Stalinist leadership which supported against us this class of adventurists has given them a job and is prepared to utilize them. Needless to say that these rooted Leninists are passionately anti-Trotskyist and that they submit absolutelv to the will of the leadership.

The congress of the official C. P. will soon open; according to the date set, there are only a few days left for it and the discussion period which should precede every Bolshevik congress has not yet opened. The bureaucracy does not permit of reply. Everything is prepared so that the Congress, at which only those who submit to the leadership may be present, will only be a stupid parody from which not the slightest correct resolution will come out.

The other congress, convoked by the partisans of Maurin, is pompously called "unification congress". Nobody speaks of it any longer. Maurin and Co. are not thinking of bringing it together. The latest decisions of the Comintern on the Maurin group, the defeat which it suffered in the elections (especially in Madrid) and the discussions which this has engendered, have sown discord and the most lamentable confusion in the unprincipled Maurin group. One may be assured that this group has entered into a period of open decomposition, a process which, in Madrid, is very rapid, even though it is slower in Catalonia; but inevitably, it will liquidate the "Maurinists'". Some will come to the Spanish Communist Opposition, others to the official C. P., many will remain where they are; a large number will lean towards the Macia camp, since the Maurin group in Catalonia is only the Left wing, organized under a different name, of Macia's party.

**UNEMPLOYMENT INCREASES**

The mayoralty of Madrid must effect economies, according to the councillors designated on April 12 to administrate municipal policy, and for that, they are speaking of the suspension of the work begun to keep the workers employed.

5,000 Madrid workers are threated with remaining jobless; other mayoralties which also gave some work to a few workers find themselves in the same position as that of Madrid.

Unemployment is increasing considerably. The government does not know how to find the solution of the evil. The extremely rare funds voted by the government to remedy the crisis, remain in the pockets of the enormous and numerous commissions designated to administer them. The provincial workers stream incessantly towards Madrid in the hope of finding work. Madrid is really the city least affected by unemployment, but it is hard and even impossible to find places.

And the winter is approaching threateningly filled with new events which will be sensational. It is certain that the government is disposed to machine gun the unemployed workers who dare to demand bread for themselves and their families.

—HENRI LACROIX.

Madrid, August 22, 1931

# DISCUSSION ARTICLES

## Tasks of Our National Conference

The Second National Conference of the Communist League will mark an important milestone in the development of our organization and, consequently, in the history of American Communism, whose banner we bear and whose future we represent. The conference is a culminating point in three years of preparatory labor for the gruelling battles yet to come. Its deliberations have been grounded by all that has gone before and its results can be anticipated, even now, with reasonable assurance.

Our ranks have been welded together on the basis of a correct political line. If the Conference accepts the proposals of the National Committee it will not find it necessary to confront the organization with any new or surprising turns. Our theses and other recommendations only represent a synthesis of the policies and methods already worked out and applied in our daily work and agitation on the basis of our platform. The approval of this line by the Conference will necessarily carry with it an endorsement of the course on which the National Committee has guided the movement and a repudiation of the criticisms brought against it. Any kind of indefiniteness on this point is out of the question. The Conference is to draw the balance and decide. Proceeding from this the National Conference is then obliged to declare an end to controversy over the disputed questions and to prohibit any further discussion of them. It can do this with full authority and with assurance that its command will be supported throughout the organization. Our conference preparations have been a triumph of proletarian democracy, a model illustration of its processes—the only methods yet discovered whereby a living workers' organization can assert its collective judgment.

The discussion has been thorough, free and untrammelled by any kind of suppression. The selection of delegates proceeds in the same way. After this, it will be impossible to question the representative character of the Conference or its authority to speak for the entire organization. The membership as a whole will wait for its signal to terminate the discussion and concentrate all attention on the concrete tasks worked out on the basis of the fundamental decisions.

Outstanding among the questions concerning which the National Committee will insist on a categorical decision of the Conference—because it has been the one subjected to the greatest dispute—is the question of our attitude toward the Party. The Platform adopted at the First Conference answered this question correctly. Without that the Left Opposition would long ago have suffered shipwreck. Now, with the help of the second National Conference, we must take another step forward on the same path we have travelled heretofore. This stands first in the list of concrete tasks which proceed logically from the general recommendation already submitted in the thesis of the National Committee.

In our judgment the practical program of the Conference should run approximately as follows:

1. Settling all disputes about the role of the Left Opposition as a faction of the party, and putting a stop to all argument about it, we must intensify our work within the party ranks, organize our forces into a firm group and work out a practical program for the direction of their work. The proletarian militants of the party and its peripheral organizations are the future troops of the Opposition: This is the idea which must guide our work and from which we must not depart. Closer to the party, deeper into the party—these are our slogans.

The Oppositionists must strive by all means to draw nearer to rank and file party members, approach them in a fraternal spirit and explain the great questions again and again with the utmost patience and persistence. This work goes hand in hand with a fiery proletarian hate of the Centrist bureaucracy and its corrupting influence, an unrelenting struggle against it.

2. Tighten up the organization. Make a decisive break with the habits of looseness and slackness which hamper the Bolshevist development of the League. Impose tasks on every member and hold every member to account for his activity. Establish discipline worthy of a Communist organization and close the door to windbags and trflers.

3. Begin the actual formation of a cadre of professional revolutionaries who put themselves entirely at the disposal of the organization. Select a group, out of the younger and foot-loose elements, and train them deliberately for full-time professional work. Accept for this grouping only those who mean it earnestly, who are not afraid of sacrifices, who are willing and able to learn and boot aside the wise-acres and the know-it alls.

Even the beginning of such a work will signify an enormous step forward, for the Opposition cannot succeed with its great historic mision, unless it prepares its soldiers for the coming day. A formal decision of the Confernce, putting such a selection of forces on the order of the day, will give powerful impetus to this development.

4. Finish the Expansion Program before the end of the year. Raise the balance of the fund. Stabilize the Weekly **Militant.** Start the theoretical magazine. Arrange at least two national tours. Establish the system of field organizers on a permanent basis.

5. Conduct a campaign for fifty new members out of the circle of sympathizers of the Opposition. Our opponents may laugh at the modesty of such a goal, but we need not worry about that. We do not claim to be a mass movement. Our aim is a selection of the vanguard, and fifty new members, a number which can be recruited with a determined effort—will mean a material strengthening of our movement which will guarantee the success of every one of the practical tasks of the moment. Bigger things will follow.

6. Enroll every member of the Communist League in at least one of the non-party mass organizations, and systematically organize their work for the constructive building of these organizations and the propaganda for our ideas within them. Rejecting all phrase-mongering agitation about "mass work" and "independent work" in general, and holding fast to our essential function as propagandists, we ought nevertheless to increase out activity in the class struggle, particularly in those fields which bring the Oppositionists into contact with members and sympathizers of the party. That means, in the first place, to penetrate the non-party mass organizations and unions and work actively there. A special decision of the Conference along these lines is quite necessary.

7. Strengthen the central apparatus of the Communist League. Reject all amateurist conceptions which make a virtue of political leadership on a spare-time basis. Strain in the direction of a larger and full-time staff which continues to expand the growth of the organization and its tasks. Settle this question in principle and explain the views and methods of Lenin regarding professional revolutionary work.

* * * *

It will be seen at once that the suggestions indicated above, taken all together, do not constitute a very ambitious program. All the tasks enumerated are small ones, they are comparatively simple and they are all easily possible. Yet it would be a mistake for the Conference to go far beyond them.

It is not for us to adopt grandiose projects which are beyond our capacities at the moment, which are soon forgotten and never accomplished. We are under no compulsion to imitate the bluff-programs of the Stalinists. We do not have to "make a showing" before anyone.

We are only obliged to know what to do next with the forces at our disposal and do it.

The practical proposals which have been outlined here proceed from this point of view. If we accomplish all of them—and we can do so without undue strain if we have the will—it will not change our position in a qualitative sense. But it will indubitably raise our hard-pressed faction to higher ground and prepare it for a further ascent. That is enough. No more can reasonably be expected from the Second National Conference. There is every reason to expect that it will not yield less.

—JAMES P. CANNON.

## The League and Problems of the Youth

The Draft Thesis on the Youth Question attempts to state in concise terms the position of the youth under capitalism, the need of a Communist youth league, its attitude toward other youth organizations and finally the tasks of the Left Opposition youth. We essayed to include only that which is essential.

The scantiness of the discussion on the youth is one of the none too few in this field of our work. Among the signs that there is not enough interest youth comrades there are many who have never been in the Y. C. L. or carried on activity among young workers; others are too absorbed in the general Opposition activty. The adult comrades also do not appear to understand the importance of youth work.

From this follows the necessity of making the young comrades "youth conscious"; proving to the adult comrades that youth work is essential and can be done. Towards this end, the Draft Thesis proposes: the issuance of an internal youth bulletin, the publication of the **Young Vanguard** as a semi-monthly section of the weekly **Militant** on the one hand, and the section of a National Youth Committee of five, the election of at least one comrade in each branch to be in charge of youth work, the organization of a fraction in the Y. C. L., and the organization wherever possible of a youth club. If this work is successful we will be in a position to issue a separate youth paper by the next conference.

The aim of our youth is "the organization, education and consolidation of a revolutionary, capable, and advanced Communist youth cadre". In the immediate sense this means the winning of the Communist youth for the Left Opposition. Through participation in the work and affairs of the Y. C. L., through classes on fundamentals of the Communist youth movement, Communism, Marxism, etc., by spreading the **Militant,** and our literature we can attract the young Communists. At the same time through open-air meetings, independent work in factories where our young comrades are, and by improving the **Young Vanguard,** making it more of an educational page we can win young workers who have never gone through the Y. C. L. for Communism. If these activities bear fruit we can be assured of a youth club in at least several of the cities which have functioning branches. In New York, immediately following the Conference it is planned to take steps for the organization of a youth club.

The success of this work depends on first, the participation of all of the youth comrades and second, a clear idea of Communist youth work and our aims and tasks. The Thesis endeavors to answer these questions. An important thought expressed in it is that:

"Limited experience with Communist youth work requires that youth tactics, demands, slogans and special oragnizational forms should be put forward not as dogmas or finished products which have universal validity but rather with a view of testing them in practise, examining the results, and thereby laying the ground for more effective tactics, slogans, etc." This, in my opinion would be ever before us when discussing youth methods and means of work.

The old slogan of the Young Communist International "Clarity and Action" should be revived. The educational and cultural character of the youth emphasized in the thesis. We should not forget that "Communist training and education requires the intimate linking up of the theoretical with the practical, the studygroup with the field of the class-struggle". It falls upon us to carry out as much of this work as our forces will permit.

Comrade Bord ("Shortcomings in the Youth Thesis", **Militant,** 8-22-31) takes us to task for a number of omissions and commissions in the thesis. I will briefly touch on the points raised.

1. The thesis treats "the youth as though it were some queer product of society complete in itself, and having no relation to anything else."! If this were so then it would be wrong to say, as comrade Bord does in her opening sentence, that "The thesis on the youth question on the whole treats the problem well." On the contrary, I would favor the complete rejection of such a thesis.

But fortunately the criticism cannot be accepted. Throughout the thesis, it is stressed that the youth is a section of the working class, that the problems of the class are the problems of the section, etc. In the section on Youth in America it is explained in some detail. In fact, the first sentence of the thesis reads: "Capitalism draws the youth of the proletarian families into the productive process. Does this imply a "queer product of society complete in itself, and having no relation to anything else"?

2. The slogan of "equal pay for equal work". The thesis does not enumerate any youth demands. We intend carrying on a discussion after the Conference, on this question in our interal youth bulletin. At the same time I would like to comment as follows: The above demand was taken from the program of the Y. C. I. which holds good for European conditions. As a **general demand** in this country it is wrong because (1) in unskilled trades, automobile, textile, coal, etc., there is little wage discrimination between adult and youth **who do the same work;** (2) In other industries, demands for the youth have to be formulated on the basis of the specific conditions and position. In many of these cases the slogan "Equal pay for equal work" will apply. (3) For workers under 18 years special hours (and therefore labor performed should be formulated.

3. On the question of youth auxiliaries. The thesis states: "A thorough examination of the functions of Youth auxiliaries and the actual activities of the existing ones is needed. If this is not done, this important part of League activity will continue to yield no results." In other words we do not come out against all auxiliary youth organizations. Sport clubs united into the Labor Sports Union, under certain conditions, youth educational clubs are accepted forms of auxiliaries. What the thesis takes issue with is the formation of such organizations as the Youth Liberators, the Young Defenders (Youth of the I. L. D.), and Youth Section of International Workers' Order. These were formed after the Y. C. L. had failed to live up to its task: Become the cultural center and political leader of the youth. Their existence facilitates the conversion of the Y. C. L. into a **youth party.**

For example, the youth section of the I. W. O. states: "We give expression to the cultural, athletic and social requirements of the youth." Who will be attracted? Primarily the youth sympathetic to the Left wing and Communist movement; children of adult Communists. These can be won directly to the youth league—assuming correct tactics, organizational methods and leadership.

At the same time we, the Left Opposition youth, should work within these youth auxiliaries and thereby gain contact with the League members and sympathizers.

4. On the other points raised: Work in the Y. C. L., educational work, independent work wherever possible there is general agreement. The National Youth Committee will have to concretize these tasks and outline definite ways of proceeding. The youth comrades will be called upon to aid in this work.

JOSEPH CARTER.

## The Youth Thesis

The future growth of the American section of the Left Opposition depends in a great measure upon our ability to win the youth to its banner. For this end we must understand correctly how to attract and secure their political and organizational support. The youth resolution, despite weaknesses of a minor character, correctly establishes our approach to this problem and a successful realization of its aim. On fundamental approach there is agreement. Our task at the present time is to set upon a practical solution to the problem of winning the youth to our banner.

At our first conference, over two and half years ago, we signalized our approach to this problem by asserting that the task of the youth members in our ranks, was to work as oppositionists in the general struggle of the Communist Left without concentrating on specific youth questions. We understood correctly that during those days our main task was the establishment of the Left Opposition in this country, to make known its position among the American Communists and to sink its roots as an organization. This continues to be our task on a much larger scale.

The exigencies of the first period of our existence have passed. Our problems remain basically the same—but that an organizational and political stabilization has taken place nobody can deny. The American Left Opposition is here to stay. Our problems today are broader. Our movement is much stronger and our foundation is a solid one.

An estimate of our membership will show that the youth make up one of its largest sections. They are a vital part of the organization, and have contributed a great share toward its growth. It is, howeevr, necessary, in view of a changed situation, to organize the youth activity for our younger comrades who can now devote their attention to it. Our approach is based on the analysis that while hitherto our younger comrades were not in a position to devote their time and energy to youth activity—that period has changed and it is absolutely urgent that they particpate in full force in youth work.

The general problems of a theoretical nature and political sphere find a unanimous opinion among all our comrades. This will help very much to facilitate matters in an organizational sense. But the most important problem is that of finding a form through which our young comrades can operate. In this pre-conference discussion it is necessary to consider various propositions. We submit here, the proposal for the organization of a series of youth clubs wherever possible throughout the country. We consider at this moment something tangible which can be realized: the organization of youth clubs, whose function it will be to win the Communist youth and young workers to our ideas and to our ranks. The work in such an organization must consist in the main of education, social and sports. If properly understood and correctly organized this can successfully be carried through. It can serve as a basis for the advanced idea of a Communist Opposition youth movement. The proposal of Spartacus youth Clubs under the guidance of the organization, unified nationally through the efforts of our comrades appears to be at this moment the most logical step to take. In such organizations our young comrades must devote their main efforts.

—A. GLOTZER.

## Maurin and the Catalonian Question

**La Batalla,** organ of the Catalonian Federation, is taking many pains to show the Comintern bureaucrats that it is not "Trotskyist". It is really a needless work. In reality, the further the Spanish revolution develops, the more the Catalonian Federation shows, by its activity and by the very "original" position of its leaders, that it has never had anything in common with the International Left Opposition. Without international connections and without exact revolutioary perspectives, the Catalonian Federation is reduced to guide itself by the sage theories of its local chiefs, incapable of profiting by the great lessons of the October revolution and of the revolutionary movement in general. The declarations by Maurin which we quote later on, show what confusion and what haziness prevails in the mind of these chance leaders. In his speech at the Madrid Ateneo, Maurin said among other things: "It is necessary to demand not useless Constituent Corteses, but a revolutionary convention. We need a deliberative and an executive assembly with a committee of public safety." In concluding his speech, Maurin said that "it is precisely by its national character that the Spanish revolution will have a universal radiation". (**La Batalla,** 6-25-31.)

Maurin and his young disciple, Jordi Argquer, boast in **La Batalla** of being independent of the orders coming either from the Comintern or from Trotsky. As a sign of independence, Maurin has engaged in copying servilely the vocabulary of the bourgeois revolutionists of the French revolution of 1789. From the lips of a leader of a Communist organization, this language is simply ridiculous. We are convinced that the revolutionary workers of the Catalonian Federation who, by their class instinct, take a direct hand in the spontaneous struggles of the Spanish proletariat, will not take up any of the burlesque language of their leaders, but that they will employ the language of the proletarian revolution, that is, of the October revolution, of the Comintern of Lenin and Trotsky.

Thanks to the extreme weakness of the official C. P. in Catalonia, the confusionist and Right wing leadership of Maurin still remains at the head of the most numerous Communist Federation, in the most industrial region of the country. But in order to preserve his leadership, Maurin wants to discredit the "Spanish Trotskyists" who are obviousy disconcerting him. Jordi Arquer is the one charged with this job. In a series of articles in **La Batalla,** he denounces the "epigones of Trotsky, the sowers of falsifications". Not having the courage to stand up directly against the ideas developed by Trotsky in his latest works, he crudely attempts to oppose our Spanish comrades of the Left Opposition to Trotsky. "Nin and the other Spanish 'Trotskyists' reproach the Catalonian Federation", he writes, "for having a false position in the Catalonian question. But they have read Trotsky badly. Hasn't he written in one of his letters (the Spanish revolution from day to day) that 'in the present stage of development and with the existing relationship of social forces, Catalonian nationalism is a progressive revolutionary factor'? This is how the epigones of Trotsky falsify their master!"

The letter by Trotsky which we publish further on, will prove sufficiently to the members of the Catalonian Federation that their leaders were not happy in their idea of defending the thoughts of Trotsky against his "epigones". It will be seen from the first part of this letter that the separatist position of Maurin is just as far from the Leninist conception of the national question as his "committee of public safety" is from the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviets.

—M. M.

* * * *

Once more on the subject of the timely questions of the Spanish revolution.

1. Thus, Maurin, the "leader" of the workers' and peasants' bloc shares the point of view of separatism. After certain hesitation, he has resolved himself into the Left wing of petty bourgeois nationalism. I have already written that Catalonian petty bourgeois nationalism in the present stage is progressive. But on one condition: that it develops its activity outside of the ranks of Communism and that it is always under the blows of Communist criticism. To permit petty bourgeois nationalism to manifest itself under the Communist mask means at the same time to deliver a perfidious blow to the proleturian vanguard and to kill the progressive significance of petty bourgeois nationalism.

2. What does the program of separatism mean? The economic and political dismemberment of Spain or, in other words, the transformation of the Iberian peninsula into a sort of a Balkanic peninsula, with independent states, divided by customs barriers with independent armies and conducting independent Hispanic wars. Of course, the sage Maurin will say that he does not want this. But programs have their own logic, something Maurin hasn't got.

3. Are the workers and the peasants of the various parties of Spain interested in the economic dismemberment of Spain? In no case. That is why, to identify the decisive struggle for the right to self-determination with propaganda for separatism, means to accomplish a fatal work. Our program is the Hispanic Federation with the indispensable maintenance of economic unity. We have no intention of **imposing** this program upon the oppressed nationalities of the peninsula **with the aid of the arms of the bourgeoisie.** In this sense, we are sincerely for the right to self-determination. If Catalonia separates, the Communist minority of Catalonia, as well as of Spain, will have to conduct a struggle for Federation.

4. In the Balkans, the old pre-war social democracy already put forward the slogan of the democratic Balkan Federation, as the way out of the madhouse created by the separated states. Today, the Communist slogan in the Balkans is the Balkan Soviet Federation (by the way: the Comintern adopted the slogan of the Balkan Soviet Federation, but at the same time it rejected this slogan for Europe!) Can we, under these conditions, make our own the slogan of the Balkanization of the Spanish peninsula? Isn't it monstrous?

5. The syndicalists, at least certain of their leaders, declare that they will fight against separatism even with arms in hand. In this case, the Communists and the syndicalists would find themselves on two sides of the barricades because, without sharing the separatist illusions, while criticizing them, on the contrary, the Communists must stand up pitilessly against the hangmen of imperialism and their syndicalist lackeys.

6. Should the petty bourgeoisie succeed—against the advice and the criticism of the Communists—in dismembering Spain, the negative results of such a regime will not take long in manifesting themselves. The workers and the peasants of the various sections of the peninsula will speedily arrive at this conclusion: yes, the Communists were right. But this means precisely that we must not assume a particle of responsibility for Maurin's program.

7. Monatte hopes that the Spanish syndicalists will create a new "syndicalist state". Instead of this, the Spanish friends of Monatte are integrating themselves successfully into the bourgeois state. It is the story of the luckless hen who sits on duck's eggs. Today, it is very important to follow all that the Spanish syndicalists say and do. This wil open up possibilities for the Left Opposition in France to deal a harsh blow to French anarcho-syndicalism. One cannot doubt for a single instant that under the revolutionary conditions the anarcho-syndicalists will discredit themselves at every step.

The gifted idea of the syndicalists consists of controlling the Cortes without participating in it! To employ revolutionary violence, to fight for power, to seize the power—all this is not permitted. In its place, they recommend the "control" of the bourgeoisie which is in power. A magnificent picture: the bourgeoisie takes its breakfast, it lunches, it dines, and the proletariat led by the syndicalists "control" these operations—on an empty stomach.

—L. TROTSKY.

Kadikoy, July 13, 1931

## Perspectives of the American Crisis

1. The writer has consistently stated his belief that America will recover from this crisis, in the immediate. The means whereby this will be done will apparently be through a drastic wage-cutting campaign designed to restore the margin of surplus value to the capitalists. Because of this, the perspectives of increasing militancy of strikes and radicalization of the masse are justified, also in the immediate.

2. This does not imply accepting a perspective of long-time stabilization for capitalism in America, which economic analysis indicates to be improbable. The long perspective implied is of temporary stabilization on a lower plane, accompanied by further crises and temporary stabilizations, with a generally downward trend. The quotations from Marx and Lenin as to the impossibility of a permanent crisis in no way exclude such a process of decline. England since the war is an example of a generally declining capitalism in the sense meant by the writer.

3. A long period of years of general capitalist advance, the opposite of the above perspective, would involve in general repetition of the 1923-1929 situation of slow paralysis of the labor movement. A short period of advance, in the other hand, in which capitalism solves its immediate problems by cutting the wages of labor, on the contrary, would not involve a deadening of labor resistance, but rather an intensification of it. We see this in the strike and political activity today, which would be still further increased by a wave of wage cuts beginning with steel and railroads, regardless of the "prosperity" based on such wage cuts.

4. Imperialist conquest of foreign markets is by no means as immediate a solution for capitalism as wage-cutting, but will unquestionably result from the intensification of present contradictions. Owing to the advanced state of the general capitalist crisis and the position of America with respect to the rest of the world, imperialist conquest cannot solve America's contradictions for any long period. To apply the methods of primitive accumulation of capital, as possible in India or China, to solve the contradictions of a world capitalism in an advanced state of dissolution is to offer an old man the remedies applicable to children's diseases. When peasants in the most backward countries are torn lose out of a self-supporting village economy into the production of "commodities" for the world market, at a time when the world market cannot absorb increased amounts of raw material, the new production must displace an equivalent supply from older sources, in most cases the United States. For this reason, we say imperialist conquest of foreign markets will merely shift the scene of American capitalist contradictions, not lessen their crushing weight. All of this refers, of course, to the longer outlook over a decade or more. An imperialist war by or on behalf of America, with the ideological and material preparations which it implies, cannot be accomplished overnight, and is not the immediate answer to the present crisis of capitalism.

Rather do we expect such an imperialist war to break out in the course of the long downward trend after a recovery from the present crisis, as an expression of the fact that contradictions have become even more acute than at present. Such a situation, superposing the political crisis of an imperialist war on top of a series of economic crises of increasing acuteness, will pose the question of the social revolution in all its force, and will test the ability of the subjective factors of revolutionary leadership to cope with the objective situation then presented.

—B. J. FIELD.


**SPANISH REVOLUTION**

**The Revolution in Spain . . . . 10c**

**The Spanish Revolution in Danger . . . 15c**

These two pamphlets will give the reader an invaluable analysis of the present situation in Spain and the prospects of the further development of the revolution. The standpoint of the Opposition, in contrast to that of all the other groups involved in the present Spanish situation (the official Communist party, the Maurin group, the syndicalists, and others), is presented with the exceptional clarity and pentration for which the author is so well-known.

Send Orders and Funds to the

**PIONEER PUBLISHER S84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.**



**Subscribe!**

**THE MILITANT,**
**84 East 10th Street, New York City.**
Please enter me for a subscription one year, $2.00; six months, $1.00.

Name ..... Address.....

City ..... State .....

# *Resolution on the International Left Opposition*

1. The destruction wrought by eight years of domination by the epigones in the leadership of the Communist International is making itself felt most acutely at the present moment, when the objective conditions for revolutionary progress are almost universally favorable to the proletarian vanguard. Paralysis and decay of the most vital organs of the official international Communist movement are the most notable effects, particularly glaring and disastrous in the present world crisis of capitalism, of the ravages of the bureaucratic internal regime which was required by the apparatus in order to destroy the fundamental pinciples of Marxism in all the parties of the International. In the three countries of Europe where the Communists should even now be leading the workers to decisive battles, a disheartening picture is presented. In bankrupted Germany, the plague of nationalist degeneration has gripped the only remaining non-Russian mass party in the Comintern and threatens it with another 1923 debacle, even though in a different form and under different conditions. In revolutionary Spain, the feeble skeleton formation of the official party plays no decisive role in the country, and lays a huge obstacle in the road to the victory by diverting the vanguard from the proletarian revolutionary goal to the—at best—mythical and — at worst—fatal goal of a "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry". In England, the prostrated figure of the official party is unable to affect developments in any serious manner at all. The other parties of the International do not present a much more encouraging picture, despite brief and temoprary rises, despite the increasingly favorable conditions.

2. The Centrist bureaucracy has not, however, succeeded in completely destroying the Communst International. The latter posseses a vitality, not derived from Centrism, but still sufficiently powerful to have withstood the fatal consequences of the corrosive influence of the epigones. The vitality of the Comintern has its sources in the existence and popularity of the October revolution and the Soviet Union, its traditions and its associations, all of which the advanced elements of the working class still connect and identify in their minds with the existing parties. The support still enjoyed by the official parties is given them by the workers as representing the ideas of the October revolution. In addition to this tremendous factor, the hopeless bankrutcy of capitalist society, the intensified exploitation and misery characterizing it in its last period of decay, plus the despicable and unconcealed treachery of the social democracy, drive more workers to the ranks of Communism than the mountain of blunders, defeats and crimes of the Stalinist apparatus can drive away. While this state of affairs cannot produce a permanent "equilibrium" in the ranks of official Communism, it nevertheless operates at the present stage with such force that it may be said that the bulk of the revoluionary workers are either in or around the official Communist parties or under its influence. Furthermore, the shifting of the apparatus from its Right positions to positions of ultra-Leftism, driven by the pressure of events, by criticism of the Opposition, by discontentment in the ranks of the party itself, are objective testimony to the possibilities which still exist to purge the party by radical measures of reform and to re-establish it upon a strong Marxian foundation.

These are the principal factors which determine for the International Left Opposition the role which it has assumed and which it must maintain: the Marxian wing of Communism, constituted as a faction of the Communist International which works for its regeneration and restoration. This historical task can be accomplished only by the most intransigeant struggle against the Centrist bureaucracy and the reactionary ideas with which it has poisoned the movement.

3. The formal splitting off of the Right wing from the Comintern in a whole series of countries, particularly since the Sixth Congress, has served to clarify the struggle in the Communist movement. The Right wing represents the most consistently opportunist section of the ruling machine in the Comintern from 1923 to 1928 which, in the person of the Right wing, has now taken a giant's stride closer to the social democracy. In a number of countries, sections of the Right wing have already completed an organiaztional fusion with the Second International. In the main, however, it represents a bridge built towards social democracy. It shares the basic theortical conceptions of Centrism (national socialism as against revolutionary internationalism), but otherwise it leads a parasitic existence, nourished by the cruder and more obvious blunders of purblind Centrism, which it criticizes with scraps borrowed from the platform of the Opposition. Liquidators, the ideological agents of the social democracy under the Communist banner who constitute the Brandlerist "International" must be fought relentlessly at every juncture. While it has and can have nothing in common with the Right wing liquidators, the Left Opposition, mindful of the fact that great numbers of workers reacted honestly in the direction of the Right wing only because of the blunders and bureaucratism of the Stalinists, should make every effort to win over, by fraternal discussion, the revolutionary working class elements in the Right wing camp.

4. In spite of, and in a sense because of, the obstacles placed in the path of its development and the organizational defeats inflicted upon it by the apparatus, the International Left Opposition is today at the highest point yet attained in its ideological progress. The disloyal abuse of the immense apparatus at the disposal of Centrism, its usurpation of the direction of the Soviet Union and the Comintern, the years of defeats and revolutionary ebb, the fact that the present revolutionary tide has not yet posed acutely and unpostponably before the Communist workers the fundamental strategical problems all these circumstances have combined to prevent the Left Oppositoin from enjoying an organizational growth commensurate with almost daily vindication and confirmation of its ideas, its prognoses, its platform. The aim of the Left Opposition is to redress the dispersed and bewildered ranks of Communism so that the organized revolutionary vanguard shall be able to fulfill its historic mission. Our principal task, therefore, is not the pursuit for a "mass movement", which the whole environment and the conditions of our struggle renders futile, but the more systematic and strengthened organization of our propaganda for winning the militant vanguard.

In a number of countries, great steps have been taken in the past period towards the accomplishment of this task. The International Left Opposition has succeeded not only in clearing its ranks of all capitulationist elements of the Zinoviev group, but also of ultra-Leftist dilletante and compromising tendencies, such as were represented by Urbahns, Paz and van Overstraeten. In addition, elements alien to the ideas and spirit of the Left Opposition, like Pollak in Czecho-Slovakia, Frey in Austria, the Landau group in Austria and Germany, have been dropped by the way-side. The Opposition, whose strength lies in its ideas and which constitutes a faction, has especially rigid requirements and cannot have any hesitation in enforcing them. For that reason, the American section of the Left Opposition also endorses the struggle conducted by our French section against the Right wing group of Gourget and against the ambiguous attitude of other members of the Ligue, such as Naville, who did not join in rejecting categorically the ideas and conduct of this group, and whose attitude, instead, confronted it, just as it comforted the Landau group in its destructive work in the ranks of the German Opposition. In the future, the American section must devote a greater amount of its attention to the developments in the other countries so that it may contribute the maximum possible clearing the road of progress of the International Left Opposition and helping to overcome those difficulties, and even crises, which frequently arise in the life of every active political organism and from which the Left Opposition is not immune. Any tendency in our own ranks to minimize the importance of the genuine internationalism which is constituted by an active and fraternal intervention in the life and work of the movement as a whole, must be sharply checked and corrected.

5. One of the difficulties which the International Opposition has enountered in the past period has been the defections of members of the Bureau which has so grately incapacitated it as to compel the International Secretariat to assume functions other than purely administrative ones. This assumption of political functions has proved to be correct, and at the present moment, the Secretariat is the only effective center holding together the various sections of the Opposition, and, by grace of the support given it by the great majority of the sections, having the authority to intervene in any country for the purpose of defending the ideas of the Left Opposition. The fact that purely formal organizational attacks are levelled at the Secretariat precisely by those elements who are breaking, or never had anything in common, with the principle and political ideas of the Opposition,—elements like Landau, Frey, van Overstraeten, Urbahns. Weisbord, etc.,—gives the measure of these criticisms. Until an international congress can take place, and a representative Bureau elected, we must give all our assistance towards strengthening the authority and the capacities of the Secretariat.

At the same time, the Communist League of America (Opposition) suggests that the International Congress be called for the Spring of the coming year, so that the international relations of the Opposition may be strengthened, a review of the past years undertaken, and the tasks for the coming period elaborated. We propose that all the main theses and documents for the congress shall be available for all the sections at least two months before its actual convocation.

# Against National Communism! (Lessons of the 'Red' Referendum)

## By LEON TROTSKY

When these lines reach the reader, they will, perhaps, in one section or another, be out of date. Through the efforts of the Stalinist apparatus and the friendly collaboration of all the bourgeois governments, the author of these lines is placed in such circumstances under which he can react to political events only after a delay of several weeks. To this must also be added that the author is obliged to rely on far from complete information. The reader should bear this in mind. But even from the extremely unfavorable circumstances, we must attempt to extract at least some advantage Not having the possibility to react to events in all their concreteness, from day to day, the author is compelled to concentrate his attention on the basic points and the central questions. This is where he justification lies for this work.

### How Everything Is Turned Upon Its Head

The mistakes of the German Communist Party in the question of the plebiscite is among those which will become clearer as time passes, and will finally enter into the textbooks of revolutionary strategy as an example of what should not be done. In the conduct of the Central Committee of the G. C. P., everything is wrong: the evaluation of the situation is incorrect, the immediate aim is posed incorrectly, the means for its achievement was selected incorrectly. In passing, the leadership of the party succeeded in overthrowing all those "principles" which it advocated within recent years.

On July 21, the Central Committee addressed itself to the Prussian government with the demand for democratic and social concessions, threatening otherwise to come out for the referendum. Advancing its demands, the Stalinist bureaucracy in actuality addressed itself to the upper stratum of the social democratic party with the proposal for a united front against the Fascists under certain conditions. When the Social Democracy rejected the proposed conditions, the Stalinists formed a united front with the Fascists against the Social Democracy. This means that the policy of the united front is conducted not only from "below" but also from "above". It maens that Thaelmann is permitted to address himself to Braun and Severing with an "open letter" on the joint defense of democracy and social legislation from the Hitlerite bands. In this manner, these people, without even noticing what they are doing, threw overboard their metaphysics on the united front **"only from below"**, by means of the most stupid and the most scandalous experiment of the united front **only from the top,** unexpectedly for the masses and against their will.

If the social democracy is a variety of Fascism, then how can one propose to social Fascists a demand for the joint defense of democracy? Having entered upon the road of the referendum, the party bureaucracy did not put any conditions to the National Socialists. Why? If the Social Democrats and the National Socialists are only shades of Fascism, then why can conditions be put to the Social Democracy and not to the National Socialists? Or perhaps between these two "varieties" there exist certain very important **qualitative** differences in regards to the social base and the methods of deceiving the masses? But then, do not call both of them Fascists, because names in politics serve in order to differentiate and not in order to throw everything into the same heap.

Is it true, however, that Thaelmann entered a united front with Hitler? The Communist bureaucracy called the referendum of Thaelmann "red", in distinction from the black or brown plebiscite of Hitler. That the matter is concerned with two mortally hostile parties, is naturally beyond doubt, and all the falsehoods of the social democracy will not compel the workers to forget it. But a fact remains a fact: in a certain campaign, the Stalinist bureaucracy drew the revolutionary workers into a united front with the National Socialists against the Social Democracy. At least if one could designate his party adherence on the ballots, then the referendum would at least have the justification (in the given instance, absolutely insufficient from a political standpoint) that it would have permitted the count of its forces and by that itself, separate them from the forces of Fascism. But German "democracy" was not solicitous enough in its time to provide for participants in referendums the right of designating their parties. All the voters are fused into one inseparable mass which, on the given question, gives one and the same answer. Within the **limit of this question,** the unity of front with the Fascists is an indubitable fact.

Thus, between midnight and dawn everything appeared to be turned on its head.

### The "United Front", But With Whom?

What political aim did the leadership of the Communist party pursue with its turn? The more you read the official documents and speeches of the leaders, the less you understand this aim. The Prussian government, we are told, is paving the road for Fascism. This is perfectly correct. The federal government of Bruening, the leaders of the Communist party add, have actually been fascising the republic and have already accomplished a lot of work on this road. Perfectly correct, we reply to this. But without the Prussian Braun, the federal Bruening cannot maintain himself the Stalinists say. This too is correct, we reply to them. Up to this point, we are in complete accord. But what political conclusions flow from this? We have not the slightest ground for supporting Braun's government, for taking even a shadow of responsibility for it before the masses, or even for weakening by one iota our political struggle against the government of Bruening and its Prussian agency. But we have still less ground for helping the Fascists to replace the government of Bruening-Braun. Because if we accuse the Social Democracy, with sufficient grounds, of paving the road for Fascism, then our own task can least of all consist of **shortening** this road for Fascism.

The circular letter of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party to all the nuclei, on July 27, most mercilessly lays bare the inconsistency of the leadership, because it is the product of a collective elaboration of the question. The essence of the letter, liberated from confusion and contradictions, is reduced to the idea that, in the final analysis, there is no difference between the Social Democrats and the Fascists, that is, that there is no difference between the enemy who deceives and betrays the workers, taking advantage of their patience, and the enemy who simply wants to kill them off. Feeling the senselessness of such an identification, the authors of the circular letter unexpectedly make a turn and present the red referendum as the "decisive application of the policy of united front from below (!) towards the Social Democratic, the christian and the non-party workers". In what way the intervention in the plebiscite alongside of the Fascists, against the Social Democracy and the party of the Center, is an application of the policy of the united front towards the Social Democratic and christian workers—will not be understood by any proletarian mind. The reference is evidently to those Social Democratic workers who, having broken away from their party, participated in the referendum. How many of them? By the policy of the united front, one should at least understand a common action, not with the workers who have left the Social Democracy, but with those who remain in its ranks. Unfortunately, there are still a great number of them.

### The Question of the Relation of Forces

The only phrase in Thaelmann's speech of July 24, which resembles a serious motivation of the question is as follows: "The red referendum, by utilizing the possibilities of legal, parliamentary mass action, represents a step forward in the direction of the extra-parliamentary mobilization of the mases". If these words have any sense at all, it is only the following: We take the parliamentary vote as the point of departure for our general revolutionary offensive, in order to overthrow the government of the Social Democracy and the parties of the golden mean allied with it, by legal means, and in order afterwards, by the pressure of the revolutionary masses, to overthrow Fascism which is attempting to become the heir to the Social Democracy. In other words: the Prussian referendum only plays the role of a spring-board for the revolutionary leap. Yes, as a spring-board, the plebiscite would have been fully justified. Whether the Fascists vote together with the Communists or not, would lose all significance, beginning with the moment when the proletariat, by its pressure, overthrows the Fascists and takes the power into its own hands. For a spring-board, one can make use of any planks, the plank of the referendum included. **Only, the possibility of actually taking the jump must be there,** not in words but in deeds. The problem is consequently reduced to the relation of forces. To come out into the streets with the slogan "Down with the Bruening-Braun government!" at a time when according to the relation of forces, it can only be replaced by a government of Hitler-Hugenburg, is the sheerest adventurism. The same slogan, however, assumes an altogether different sense if it becomes an introduction to the immediate struggle of the proletariat itself for power. In the first instance, the Communists would appear in the eyes of the masses as the aids of reaction; but in the second instance, the question of how the Fascists voted before they were crushed by the proletariat would have lost all political significance.

The question of the coincidence of the voting with the Fascists is consequently viewed by us not from the point of view of some abstract principle, but from the point of view of the actual struggle of the classes for power, and the relationship of forces at a given stage of this struggle.

### Let Us Look Back at the Russian Experience

It may be regarded as incontestable that at the moment of the proletarian uprising, the difference between the Social Democratic bureaucracy and the Fascists will actually be reduced to a minimum, if not to zero. In the October days, the Russian Mensheviks and S. R.s fought against the proletariat hand in hand with the Cadets, Kornilovists and monarchists. The Bolsheviks left the pre-parliament in October and went into the streets, in order to call upon the masses for an armed uprising. If, simultaneously with the Bolsheviks, some kind of a monarchist group, let us say, had also left the pre-parliament in those days, this would not have had any political significance because the monarchists were overthrown together with the democracy.

The party arrived at the October uprising, however, through a series of stages. At the time of the April, 1917 demonstration, a section of the Bolsheviks advanced the slogan: "Down with the provisional government!" But the Central Committee immediately rejected the ultra-Leftists. Of course, we should propagate the necessity of overthrowing the provisional government; but to call the workers into the streets under this slogan, cannot yet be done, because we ourselves are still a minority in the working class. If we overthrow the provisional government under these conditions, we will not be able to replace it, and consequently we will help the counter-revolution. We must patiently explain to the masses the anti-popular character of this government, before the hour for its overthrow has stcuck. Such was the position of the party.

During the subsequent period, the slogan of the party was: "Down with the capitalist ministers!" This was a demand directed at the social democracy to break its coalition with the bourgeoisie. In July, we led a demonstration of workers and soldiers under the slogan "All power to the Soviets!", which meant at that time: all power to the Mensheviks and S. R.s. The Mensheviks and the S. R.s, together with the White Guardists, crushed us.

Two months later, Kornilov rose against the provisional government. In the struggle against Kornilov, occupied the frontline positions. Lenin was at that time in hiding. Thousands of Bolsheviks were in the jails. The workers, soldiers and sailors demanded the liberation of their leaders and of the Bolsheviks in general. The provisional Government did not come to terms. Should not the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks have addressed an ultimatum to the government of Kerensky: Free the Bolsheviks immediately and remove from them the disgraceful accusation of service to the Hohenzollerns—and, in the event of Kerensky's refusal, have refused to fight against Kornilov? This is probably how the Central Committee of Thaelmann, Remmele, Neumann would have acted. But this is not how the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks acted. Lenin wrote at the time: "It would have been the profoundest error to think that the revolutionary proletariat is capable, so to say, out of 'revenge' upon the S. R.s and Mensheviks —for their support of the crushing of the Bolsheviks, the assassinations on the front and the disarming of the workers —of 'refusing' to support them against the counter-revolution. Such a way of putting the question would have meant, first of all, the carrying over of petty bourgeois conceptions of morals into the proletariat (because for the good of the cause the proletariat will always support not only the vacillating petty bourgeoisie but also the big bourgeoise); in the second place, it would have been—and this is most important—a petty bourgeois attempt to cast a shadow, by 'moralizing', over the political essence of the matter."

If we had not repulsed Kornilov in August, and had thereby facilitated his coming to victory, he would, in the first place, have destroyed the flower of the working class, and consequently, would have interfered with our victory, two months later, over the conciliators when they were overtaken by their Nemesis—not in words but in deeds—for their historic crime.

It is precisely "petty bourgeois moralizing" which Thaelmann and Co. engage in when, in justification of their own turn, they begin to enumerate the endless infamies committed by the social democracy.

### With Blown-Out Lanterns

Historical analogies are only analogies. There can be no talk about the identity of conditions and tasks. But in the figurative language of analogies, we may ask: At the time of the referendum in Germany, was the question posed of the defense against the Kornilovlad, or in reality, of the overthrow of the whole bourgeois order by the proletariat? This question is not decided by bare principles, nor by polemical formulae, but by the relation of forces. With what care and sincerity the Bolsheviks studied, counted and measured the relation of forces at every new stage of the revolution! Did the leadership of the German Communist Party attempt, when it entered into the struggle, to draw the preliminary balance of the struggling forces? Neither in articles, nor in speeches, do we find such a balance. Like their teacher Stalin, the Berlin pupils conduct politics with blown-out lanterns.

His considerations on the decisive question of the relation of forces, are reduced by Thaelmann to two or three general phrases. "We no longer live in 1923," he said in his report, "the Communist party is at present the party of many millions, which grows at a furious pace." And this is all! Thaelmann could not show more clearly the extent to which an understanding of the difference between the situation in 1923 and 1931 is foreign to him! **Then,** the social democracy was breaking up into bits. The workers who did not yet succed in breaking away from the ranks of the Social Democracy, turned their eyes hopefully in the direction of the Communist party. **Then,** Fascism represented to a far greater degree, a scarecrow in the garden of the bourgeoisie, rather than a serious political reality. The influence of the Communist party on the trade unions and the factory committees was incomparably greated in 1923 than it is today. The factory committees were actually carrying out at that time the basic functions of Soviets. The Social Democratic bureaucracy in the trade unions was losing ground from under its feet every day.

The fact that the situation in 1923 was not utilized by the opportunist leadership of the Comintern and the German Communist Party is still alive in the consciousness of the classes and the parties, and in the mutual relationships between them. The Communist party, Thaelmann says, is the party of millions. We are very glad of that. We are very proud of it. But we do not forget that the Social Democracy still remains the party of millions. We do not forget that, thanks to the horrible chain of the epigone mistakes of 1923-1931, the present Social Democracy reveals far greater powers of resistance than the Social Democracy of 1923. We do not forget that present-day Fascism, nursed and reared by the betrayals of the Social Democracy and the mistakes of the Stalinist bureaucracy, represents a tremendous obstacle on the road to the seizure of power by the proletariat. The Communist party is the party of millions. But thanks to the preceding strategy of the "third period", the period of concentrated bureaucratic stupidity, the Communist party is still extremely weak today in the trade unions and in the factory committees. The struggle for power cannot be led by basing oneself only on the votes of a referendum. One must have support in the factories, in the trades, in the trade unions and in the factory committees. All this is forgotten by Thaelmann who substitutes strong words for an analysis of the situation.

To contend that in July-August 1931, the German Communist Party was so powerful that it could ented into an open struggle with bourgeois society, as embodied in both its flanks, the Social Democracy and Fascism, could be done only by a man who has fallen from the moon. The party bureaucracy itself does not think so. If it resorts to such an argument, it is only because the plebiscite failed and consequently it was not put to the further test. It is precisely in this irresponsibility, in this blindness, in this unscrupulous pursuit of effects, that the adventurist half of the soul of Stalinist Centrism find its expression!

(To Be Continued)

# Do Not Make Mooney Case a Football

(Continued from Page 1)

presentative of the Mooney Committee is a partner to this movement does not change the fact either, and the sooner it is realized the more swiftly the genuine united front movement for Mooney will progress.) The purpose of the committee is "one effective demonstration in which all forces constructively and honestly willing to help, may do their part." We know this language well. This is taken from the reactionaries in the labor movement who use it demagogically and with a despicably pious hypocrisy against the Left wing who, you see, are not as "constructive and honest" as the Greens, Wolls, Hillmans and their ilk. . . .

We say quite openly: not an ounce of confidence can be placed in this self-constituted clique, thrown together behind closed doors. The protest movement, the united front for Mooney is inconceivable without the Communists and the Left wing. Whoever starts off without them has started off on the wrong foot, has made a start which will end where the previous deceptive and abortive movements "for Mooney" ended—in the ditch. It is not two or three or twenty movements for Mooney that are needed, but **one.** It is not a conglomeration of reactionaries, pseudo-progressives and assorted shysters who can organize and lead it, much less organize and lead it against the Communists. That is to say, it cannot lead it correctly or successfully. But it can undoubtedly muddy the waters for some time to come. And it can do this largely because the official Left wing movement, hornswoggled by the Stalinist bureaucracy, has not started off by clearing the waters.

### For a Genuine Movement

Whatever strength the newly-formed "Mooney committee" may gain will come to a large extent from the blunders already made by the Communists, without whom, we repeat, no real movement is worthy of the name. What milk has been spilled cannot be gathered up again. But a new and better start can be made and must be made. The Hillman-Cohen-Muste-Bailey committee is only the first installment on the payments the Left wing will get from the conservative and reactionary camp for its radically false course. A timely correction will minimize or even conceal any future payments.

Let everybody bear in mind: the Mooney case is no faction football, and whoever seeks to use it for this purpose will come a cropper in the end. The Stalinists can just as little use it for the prestige of their own false line as the labor skates can use it for their anti-Communist arsenal. It is up to the class conscious militants to make this idea prevail. —M. S.

# M.N.Roy Arrested in India

Manabendra Nath Roy, the principal leader of the Right wing of the Indian Communists, has been arrested by the British authorities in India and charged with high treason. This is the second time Roy has been on trial, the first one having been during his absence from India, when the same charge was laid against him and other Communists. Labor and revolutionary organizations in a number of countries, and outstanding scientists, authors, artists and publicists, have already adopted resolutions demanding his release from the Indian prisons of British imperialism and the British Labor Party, for it was during the Labor party cabinet's regime that he was arrested. The International Labor Defense, of course, has refused to do anything about the case. Roy, who was one of the leaders of the Comintern in its early days, became an ardent supporter of the Stalin-Bucharin regime, He was expelled after the 6th Congress.

**THE MILITANT**

*Published weekly by the Communist League of America [Opposition] at 84 East 10th St., N. Y.*

EDITORIAL BOARD

Martin Abern James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman Maurice Spector
Arne Swabeck

**Subscription rate: $2.00 per year; foreign $2.50. Five cents per copy. Bundle rates, 3 cents per copy**